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ABSTRACT

This paper describes the role of gender in the politics of American education, as carried out in Philadelphia and its suburbs from 1905 to 1930. It discusses volunteerism as a way of life for middle-class American women in the 19th century, particularly within the realm of education. Women were able to act as advocates of school reform through involvement in the Parent Teachers Association (PTA) and the Home School League of Philadelphia. The gradual inclusion of women on school boards is described, as well as the patterns of women's involvement in educational issues in Haddonfield, New Jersey. In conclusion, gender and class intertwined to gird the home and school in Philadelphia and its suburbs. Within the limits set by middle-class culture, men and women could exercise influence, but each was forced to play a different role. Men served on boards of education; women belonged to the Parent Teacher Association. Women, however, learned to use cooperation and collaboration, rather than direct confrontation, to gain more leverage for the home at school and in the community. Two tables and one figure are included. (LMI)

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STAYING THE COURSE: THE HOME, THE SCHOOL, AND THE POLITICS OF GENDER: PTAs AND BOARDS OF EDUCATION IN PHILADELPHIA AND ITS SUBURBS, 1905-1930

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CHAPTER THREE
STAYING THE COURSE
THE HOME, THE SCHOOL, AND THE POLITICS OF GENDER: PTAs AND BOARDS OF EDUCATION IN PHILADELPHIA AND ITS SUBURBS, 1905-1930

In a small town turned suburb Emma Middleton made her mark. Born in 1853, she moved to Haddonfield, New Jersey as a child and lived there for all but three of her 93 years. Religion, politics, and education were her foundation, providing the satisfaction that other women found in marriage and children. She taught Bible classes at the First Baptist Church for 37 years. She belonged to the Daughters of the American Revolution and served on the governing board of the Haddonfield Civic Association. A lifelong Republican, she was the party's first committeewoman in Camden County. She clerked for New Jersey Senator Joseph F. Wallworth and after the adoption of the nineteenth amendment became one of the first women from Haddonfield to sit on a grand jury.[1]

The church and the party were not the source of Miss Middleton's livelihood. A career woman, she taught for 45 years, almost all of which were spent in the elementary schools of Haddonfield. By itself, such longevity is not remarkable. But unlike many of her peers she remained in education even though she never abandoned the classroom for school administration. After retiring in 1917, Middleton served for 16 years on the Haddonfield board of education. It was a post for which she was eminently qualified. A respected community servant, she knew the schools well not only as an experienced teacher but as a charter member and officer of the Haddonfield Mothers' and Teachers' Club as well. Initially, those in charge of these organizations stereotyped her, assigning her to work on such activities as parent education or member entertainment.[2] But the benefits of participation outweighed the

liabilities. Patient and persistent, Emma Middleton exercised influence in Haddonfield, and there, or anywhere, few could say that they did so in as many ways as she.

The life of Emma Middleton symbolizes the role of gender in the politics of American education. Women made their presence felt as mothers, teachers, and reformers. Men shaped the schools as teachers, too, but more often than not as policy makers or in administration. Middleton knew these alternatives, working for both the home and school during the course of her long life. As a professional and volunteer, she encountered first hand the complexities and conflicting demands of being an active woman in the gender divided world of American education.

Women and Public Education: The Nature and Nurture of Influence

Voluntarism became a way of life for the middle class American woman in the nineteenth century. She could join any number of social, benevolent, and reform organizations, giving her a respectable reason to escape the house. Participation brought her in contact with other women who shared her background, values, and interests. The experience could be reaffirming, but aside from building confidence and self-assurance, it exposed her to new ideas and gave her the opportunity to apply her female virtues to such vexing problems as intemperance, ignorance, poverty, and slavery. Through voluntarism women discovered that they could make a difference. Excluded from almost all positions of leadership and denied access to economic and political power, they activated change by coming together on their own, expressing concern and even outrage about the existence of immorality, injustice, and despair

in the United States. Perhaps to their surprise, their voice was heard, first among themselves and then among a wider audience.[3]

Voluntarism and education combined naturally for American women. Female abolitionists and temperance reformers relied on reason and moral suasion to reclaim the unregenerate. Suffragettes insisted that the ballot for women would elevate and refine American politics. The most traditional women's organizations easily supported the cause of education. At its third biennial meeting the General Federation of Women's Clubs called upon all its affiliates to study education and exert their influence for school improvement from kindergarten to the university. Women's clubs throughout the nation worked for playgrounds, curricular reform, the medical inspection of school children, and better school buildings. Even as late as 1920 women who engaged in such activity ran the risk of being charged with dereliction of domestic duty. But bridging the gap between the home and school hardly seemed sufficient grounds for the crime of neglect.[4]

Suffrage for women generated heat on both sides of the gender line; after all, it opened the parlor door to the wider world. Given the prospect of such liberation, school suffrage for women seemed like a fitting compromise, and it was achieved in many cities and states long before the nineteenth amendment. The Massachusetts legislature extended this right to women in the 1870s. New Jersey followed suit in the next decade, but its Supreme Court soon overturned the provision that allowed women to cast ballots for school directors. By 1891 28 states had experimented with such legislation. In some cities women gained and held the right to vote in school elections. Toledo and Rochester added them to the suffrage rolls in the 1890s. In Boston and Chicago women

not only obtained the right to vote but won seats on school boards as well.[5] Active in the New England Women's Club, Abigail May became president of the School Suffrage League and along with three other women won a seat on the Boston School Committee in 1873. Far from uplifting school politics, these middle class women joined the fray, leading the charge to keep the city's School Committee free of Irish Catholics in the 1890s.[6]

The politics of voluntarism forced women to make some difficult choices. Should they be deferential or assertive? Should they confine themselves to subtle pressure tactics such as discrete lobbying or become more partisan, endorsing and campaigning openly for specific causes and candidates? In Boston a group known as the Independent Women Voters turned into a third political party devoted to the continuation of Protestant leadership of the public schools. Under conditions such as these gaps developed between leaders and followers. As early as the 1870s the reform agenda of the Women's Christian Temperance Union was far broader than many of its locals. The National Congress of Parents and Teachers (NCPT) advocated international peace in the 1920s, while its affiliates focused on issues like libraries and health clinics in the schools.[7]

Between 1895 and 1930 the political behavior of local parent-teacher associations increasingly became a subject of discussion and a source of official concern. As advocates for public education, PTAs might be useful allies, but when they pressured school boards or tampered with the work of principals and teachers, their actions ceased to be perceived as helpful or even appropriate. Addressing the NEA's Department of School Administration in 1919, the president of the

Milwaukee board of school directors, William Pieplow, urged his colleagues to resist all outside interference from "various societies, clubs and associations." The "constant pulling of strings on fully empowered public representatives is a serious impediment to efficient public business," Pieplow said, "whether the pullers are club ladies of either sex or old-fashioned liquor men." Running schools was a technical business beyond the knowledge and understanding of lay persons. PTAs tread on foreign ground when, circumventing the school board or other public officials, they tried to tell practitioners how to do their jobs.[8]

Such complaints were not lost on the men and women who joined PTAs. According to a survey of NCPT affiliates in the 1920s, less than three percent were willing to admit that lobbying the school board or staff was one of their activities. But almost from the beginning some home and school associations urged reform. The vacation school established by the Mothers' Club of Cambridge in 1896 counted more than 200 participants by the end of its second year, and the school committee soon assumed responsibility for it. In Milwaukee and Kansas City home and school associations advocated the community use of the school plant. Some adopted the political style of the temperance reformers and suffragettes. In New Jersey, Delaware, and Pennsylvania PTAs at every level -- state, regional, and local -- sang marching songs to rally and inspire their membership.[9]

But PTAs differed in their political tactics. Some adopted the indirect approach, avoiding open conflict with school authorities. Others were more direct, ignoring the expectation that parents and especially mothers should be deferential. In Abington Township,

Pennsylvania, the parents chose confrontation. According to the superintendent, Edward S. Ling, the district's first home and school association formed to protest an unsanitary building after an "unsuccessful personal conference with an unprogressive school board." Based in a neighborhood called Weldon, the association reported in 1912 that it planned "to change the attitude of our school board to a more progressive one," and it quickly won two major victories, persuading the board to replace an ineffective janitor and hire a new superintendent.[10]

The officers of the Weldon Home and School Association were predominantly male, but because "one able woman gave freely of her time and talent," interest in the association and its "standard of achievement high" remained very high. Nevertheless, two more conservatives joined the school board after 1912. Elsewhere in the township parents soon organized two other home and school associations, and in the autumn of 1917, when a majority of seats on the board became vacant at the same time, the leaders of the three associations quietly forged a political alliance. Although careful not to associate their organizations with the election campaign, these fathers and mothers supported a reform ticket that included the former president of one home and school association and the current vice president of another. Composed of four men, this group easily won places on the board of education.[11]

Differing degrees of militancy or political ambition could lead to friction among PTA leaders or between them and the rank and file. In Abington two factions soon vied for control of the Weldon Home and School Association. Ideology did not divide them; both subscribed to progressive educational ideas. Power was the issue, and the insurgents

gained control. Stressing appearances, they confined discussion of school matters to the organization's executive committee, allowing little or no open debate. They delighted in "getting out large crowds," said superintendent Ling, and sponsoring social occasions.

Opposition to the leadership of the Weldon Association had difficulty mobilizing. A suburb of Philadelphia, Abington Township was growing rapidly by 1920. Unfamiliar with the traditions of the past, new residents quickly fell in with the controlling group. Far from condemning such organizations, Ling believed their presence could be "a stimulus to teachers, superintendents, and school boards." He knew whereof he spoke; after all, he had witnessed first hand their political clout. But such associations had no legal standing. It resided in boards of education where men prevailed. If the superintendent was sensitive to this gender bias, he did not mention it, but he did concede that "election to a position on a school board tends to modify the attitude of a man toward home and school associations."[12]

In Philadelphia the Home and School League never shied away from taking a public stand. Led by its childless but militant president Mary Van Meter Grice, it loosely affiliated with a well-established civic organization, the Public Education Association, in 1908 and became an outspoken advocate of school reform. It joined the PEA in supporting such city wide improvements as new school construction, district high schools, and the transformation of public schools into neighborhood centers. It encouraged the board of education to hire home and school visitors and serve penny lunches at school, a practice for which the board assumed full responsibility in 1915.[13]

An outspoken, sometimes petulant leader, Mary Grice was not inclined to compromise and never one to walk away from a possible confrontation. In 1919 she led the Episcopal Churchwoman's Association in an effort to persuade the Finance Committee of City Council to authorize more funds for the abatement of unsanitary living conditions in Philadelphia. Conflict with the board of education arose over the community use of school buildings and the rate of pay for teachers. In January 1919 Grice publicly condemned the board for its failure to open the schools at night during World War I. Taking special aim at board member Simon Gratz, she characterized him and his colleagues as tight fisted; "we can retrench on some things," she said, "but never on education."[14]

As early as 1911 Grice convinced the PEA to go on record in favor of a salary hike for the city's elementary school teachers. Such complaints were hardly one of a kind; suburban parents also challenged school boards to increase teacher compensation. In Abington Township the Weldon and North Glenside Home and School Associations made it clear in 1916 that they disapproved of their school board's salary schedule. It made Abington uncompetitive with its neighbors, preventing the township from hiring the best qualified teachers.[15] Inflation during World War I exacerbated the problem.

In the aftermath of the war teachers' salaries lagged far behind the cost of living. In 1919 the Pennsylvania State Teachers Association estimated that the inflationary effects of the war had caused commodity prices to advance three times more rapidly than teachers' salaries. Of course, some blamed the teachers themselves, citing high turnover and low standards as reasons for their poor compensation. In Philadelphia

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reformers were held accountable. The high school building program that they favored drained the school budget, burdening taxpayers to such an extent that they could not meet the teachers' demands for increases.[16]

Educators and reformers agreed that something had to be done. As early as 1915 the governor of Pennsylvania, Martin Brumbaugh, campaigned for better teacher pay. Addressing a crowd of school directors assembled for the annual meeting of the Pennsylvania State Educational Association, the former superintendent of schools in Philadelphia complimented those among them who had the courage to raise taxes and pay teachers what they deserved. By January, 1919 the issue was being widely discussed in Philadelphia. Both the school board and the Civic Club urged the legislature to increase the mill rate in the city to benefit the teachers.[17] The leaders of the Home and School League certainly favored such legislation. The question was not whether the teachers were entitled to a raise but how much it should be. Some like Mary Grice insisted that their pay be doubled. Such an advance seemed outrageous to Simon Gratz, and he began to question the sincerity of the leaders of the League. In fact, the board felt so threatened by the behavior of these men and women that it temporarily locked them out of the public schools. While this tactic probably did not intimidate Mrs. Grice, it distressed her colleagues who soon adopted a less confrontational posture, reeling in their demands on the board. As League president S. D. Benoliel explained, many members are teachers and principals who feel that they cannot attend meetings if criticism is directed against "the Board of Education, who are their superiors." In addition, "the league often meets in schoolhouses and aims to be a part of the school system." Mary Grice refused to think of herself as the

servant of the board. On the grounds that the Home and School League had lost its nerve, she resigned as a director in March 1919.[18]

The remaining leaders of the League took Mrs. Grice's departure in stride. Some even may have been relieved, for Grice believed in testing the limits of cooperation between the home and school. While many parents were satisfied to buy playground equipment or classroom decorations, she aspired to join the Philadelphia board of education. It was not a post for which she lacked direct experience; residing in Riverton, New Jersey in the 1890s, she used her prominence as a founder of a local woman's club to run for the school board and was elected on her second try. She believed that mothers should be represented on the body that made policy for the education of children.[19]

In 1915 the Equal Franchise League of Philadelphia endorsed Grice for a place on the city's board of education. Her ambition offended more traditional elements in Philadelphia, including many women. Writing to express her support for the existing board, Mrs. William W. Birdsall reminded Simon Gratz that the woman "who recently so ostentatiously resigned from the Home and School League . . . has had for a long time an ambition to have a place on the school board and through her strident friends made an effort to be appointed and failed." Mrs. Grice's loss was Philadelphia's gain. "I think I know a little about the Public Schools," Birdsall said, "and I say one only needs to look at the schools of Denver and Chicago to see what would be the situation here should some of the public women get their way."[20]

As early as the 1880s women's clubs tried to place some of their own on boards of education. PTAs provided a ready supply of candidates, and in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware their members soon began

to volunteer for such service. In 1915 the mayor of New Brunswick, New Jersey, Austin Scott, named the organizer of the city's PTA to the school board. That Mrs. Drury W. Cooper was married to Scott's predecessor at city hall certainly helped her candidacy; nevertheless, she was the first woman to serve on this board in New Brunswick history. Two years later the PTA in rural Middletown, Delaware decided to nominate a woman for the school board, only to discover that their campaign got "started too late." Mothers in the Philadelphia suburb of Lower Merion were better organized. Working through the Neighborhood Civic Club, they endorsed Mary Stewart Gibbons for the school board when it discharged the popular principal of the Bala School. These parents did not act precipitously; they carried their fight to the ballot box only after failing to get "any satisfaction out of an investigation of this act." The second woman to run for the school board in Lower Merion, Mrs. Gibbons believed in the merit of her qualifications. "There are innumerable things in the work of the board," she said, "on which mothers are more capable of passing judgment than are the men."[21]

Advocates for women on boards of education relied on several familiar arguments to make their case. Echoing their sisters in the suffrage and peace movements, they maintained that women, and especially mothers, brought special qualifications to educational decision making. Women board members, said Edith Alvord, who was herself a school director in Highland Park, Michigan, can contribute an "intimate understanding" of children. "A woman member can make a mother's appeal to mothers," Alvord added, "and, if she is the right kind of woman, she can be a great help to teachers. She can see their problems as well as the children's from a woman's viewpoint." A periodical dominated by the

male establishment in education, The American School Board Journal advanced a similar opinion. Editorializing through the words of "a superintendent's wife," the Journal said that school boards benefited from having access to the different talents of both men and women. The former knew more about such technical matters as budgets and taxation, but by virtue of their position in the home women had a better grasp of "the other half of the problem," whether school expenditures produced "adequate results."[22]

Not every superintendent or principal felt this way. Reflecting on his experience with PTAs, one male administrator recalled "many wearisome minutes" when he was forced to sit through a "grave discussion as to what kind of salad should be served at a coming supper, or who should pop the corn, or what color the tickets should be." Some women approached the responsibilities of board membership with trepidation, realizing "how little" they knew about education. Nevertheless, Harold Rugg recommended that superintendents and school boards cultivate and recruit parents. While teaching at the University of Chicago, he advised them to work with women's clubs and PTAs, treating them as places to identify and educate prospective board members.[23] If elected to boards of education, however, women were expected to defer to men (see figure I).

Adding women to boards of education was no easy task; progress toward this end proved to be slow and halting. According to the executive director of the Public Education Association, few cities placed women on their boards at all in the 1910s, let alone increased their number. "This writer recalls two cities which elected women to membership in their school boards for several years," Bruce Watson went

on to say, "and later discontinued the practice. This apparently was not due to any deliberate change of policy, and certainly not to dissatisfaction with women's service on the board." In Philadelphia parents and reformers wanted to remake an unprogressive school board that they perceived to be composed of corrupt and senile men. In 1917, 1919, and 1921 the PEA backed legislation to reduce the size of the board from fifteen to seven and make it elective. The board's sins included resistance to "an impartial and independent survey of the schools." But as one former member of a now advisory ward school board pointed out at the time, the men on the central board were also thought to be unwilling to accept women. "The Board of Education has only one principle that it adheres to," said Mrs. Mary Mumford, "that no woman shall be a member of the Board."[24]

If there was such a principle, it fell in 1920 when Anna S. Lingelbach joined the Philadelphia school board. The wife of a professor of geology at the University of Pennsylvania, Lingelbach was chosen ahead of three other prominent women, none of whom was Mary Grice. An academic in her own right, Lingelbach possessed a doctorate and high school teaching experience. The PEA counted her among its directors, making her a reformer, but she also was the mother of three children, all of whom attended the Philadelphia public schools. She understood what her new colleagues expected of her. When interviewed by the press following her appointment, she declined to speak out on educational issues, saying that she wanted to confer with her husband first. "So the new member of the board is not an extreme feminist," The Philadelphia Bulletin said, "disinclined to consult with men."[25]

The outspoken style of women like Mary Grice may explain the decline of the home and school movement in Philadelphia in the 1920s. Reorganized twice, the Home and School League struggled to stay alive. A census conducted in 1925 revealed that only thirteen home and school associations still existed in the city, and two of them had not met for years. Of course, such dreadful returns may have been incomplete. In his annual report for 1928 the superintendent, Edwin C. Broome, reported finding a home and school association in about 85 of the city's 251 school organizations. But many more were needed. "The schools have felt the need of selling themselves to the community," said Jean B. Hagerty, principal of the Robert Morris School at 20th and Thompson. They "have been rather hard put to find a medium dignified enough and yet sufficiently effective. I believe we have discovered in home and school associations the medium par excellence." Her counterpart at Germantown High School emphatically agreed. The Mothers' Association "has brought about a sympathetic understanding between parents and the school," said Leslie B. Seely, "which is extremely helpful." In Philadelphia school administrators were in touch with the idea, then just emerging, that PTAs were vital to good public relations.[26]

Teachers and administrators encouraged parents to form new home and school associations. By 1935 half of the associations in Philadelphia were less than six years old; the principal was the prime mover in the formation of more than 60 percent of these. Sensing that most parents focused on the needs of their own children, school officials promoted such neighborhood organizations as protectors of child welfare. At best, their efforts seem to have prevented even greater decline. In 1935 the number of home and school associations in

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the city had shrunk to 71. They collaborated through the League to maintain school funding during the depression. Renamed the Philadelphia Home and School Council when it broke relations with the NCPT, the League had problems of its own. The rank and file did not trust the leaders, as one school official explained, complaining that the "women in charge seem somewhat out of touch with the parent's problem; and are engaged in this work to widen the scope of their own personal influence."[27]

In women's organizations conflict between leaders and followers was not uncommon. Clearly, PTAs were no exception. But for the women in many home and school associations accord was preferable. They were expected to work together in apparent harmony. Their demeanor toward men might be less restrained. But the politics of home and school could take the form of compromise and accommodation. Working with men on boards of education, women in many PTAs observed the unstated rules of middle class gender relations. Cooperation was more acceptable and effective than confrontation. Between 1900 and 1930 some women in home and school associations became more outspoken. But many others remained circumspect while aspiring to be more influential. In fact, they behaved as if their power derived from being properly reserved or even deferential. Nowhere was this pattern more apparent than in Haddonfield, New Jersey.

Parents, Politics, and the School Plant: Haddonfield, Jersey, 1905-1930

By 1910 Haddonfield no longer qualified as a country town; instead it was a suburb. Across the Delaware River from Philadelphia, Haddonfield first attracted the attention of upscale housing developers

in the 1850s, but it was not until the end of the nineteenth century that the town devoted itself to domesticity. Convenient to both Camden and Philadelphia, it became a haven for the middle class, sheltering white collar workers, professionals, business owners, and corporate executives.[28]

The people of Haddonfield embraced family and community life. As if to compensate for the diurnal separation necessitated by the male routine of commuting, they cultivated togetherness, forming several social and athletic organizations for men, women, and children. Two athletic clubs, a debating society, a literary society, and a Natural Science Club provided the setting for many family activities. The women of Haddonfield also met on their own. Like respectable women everywhere, they assembled biweekly for meetings of the Fortnightly, a club that studied art, civics, and parenting. Founded in 1867, the Haddonfield Sewing Society gave them the opportunity to socialize while making clothes for others. Such charity may have no longer seemed compelling in 1903 when the organization disbanded. But the women of the new Haddonfield did not sit on their hands; instead they put their energies to work for a cause closer to home. In 1905 they created a Mothers and Teachers Club "to establish an intelligent cooperation and sympathy between home and school."[29]

The HMTC derived support from two kinds of women. Teachers and mothers lived different lives, but they joined hands to found this organization. Teachers took the initiative; in April 1904 they hosted a reception for the patrons of the school. One year later the president of the New Jersey Congress of Mothers told those assembled at the formative meeting of the HMTC that by coming together regularly mothers

and teachers could avoid the unpleasantness that often occurred when the home and school only communicated about problems or difficulties. The responsibilities associated with the care of children impressed many club members. They wanted to know more about such matters as diet, nutrition, and friendships among the young. The hymn that they adopted in 1910 reminded them that children come "fresh from the kingdom of heaven" and have to be guided back to their "heavenly home." The club maintained close ties with the Fortnightly and the local chapter of the WCTU. Its first president Mrs. Wellington Bechtel belonged to both organizations as well as the Garden Club and the YWCA.[30]

Alice Bechtel moved in larger circles than just those surrounding Haddonfield. In 1914 she became president of the New Jersey Congress of Mothers. As early as 1906 she carried a resolution from the HMTC to the state women's club urging the legislature to prohibit the sale of cigarettes to minors. Keeping pressure on the politicians, the HMTC subsequently voted to form an alliance with the WCTU and many other women's organizations "to get the amendment to the present cigarette law passed," a campaign that achieved success in 1908.[31] But at home the club chose to be more reserved. Although the Haddonfield public schools might need to be improved, the HMTC was not prepared to confront the local board of education, especially when it came to such male domains as exercise and property. "Introducing physical training into the school, and better equipped school rooms, is beyond the province of the club, as it now stands," Alice Bechtel said. "Such effort must come from the Fathers of the children, working hand in hand with the Board of Education," while mothers should concentrate on encouraging "sympathy" among parents, teachers, and children.[32]

What accounts for this apparent paradox? Why were Alice Bechtel and her peers willing to take on the political establishment in Trenton but not the board of education in their home town? Was cigarette reform so clearly a woman's issue? The importance of proximity, class, and gender, combined, should not be underestimated here; together they created a compelling context for cooperation. Although it renamed itself the Haddonfield Parent-Teacher Association in 1912, the HMTC always was an organization for middle class women. Unlike its counterparts in Abington and Philadelphia, it was led exclusively by women. The board of education, on the other hand, belonged to middle class men. Between 1901 and 1917 all but one of its twenty-six incumbents were men. In the 1920s the ratio of men to women on the board was nearly twelve to one.[33] Challenging this male preserve in Haddonfield was stressful to say the least and could be disconcerting; such behavior represented a far greater threat to middle class standards of domesticity and decorum than questioning the policies of faceless men, however powerful, in political arenas far from home.

Solid citizens served on the Haddonfield board of education. Its members reflected the middle class character of the town, including many business owners, white collar workers, civil servants, and attorneys (see Table I). The only woman on the board before 1918, Anna Eastburn Willits came from a respected Quaker family. Between 1896 and 1909 she was president of the Fortnightly Club three separate times, spending nine years in the position. She had no personal interest in the welfare of the schools; she and her husband, a real estate and insurance executive, were not parents. Elected once to a three year term in 1908, during which she also was the board's vice president, Willits' tenure

was brief by comparison to some others in her time. William J. Boning, who joined the school board in 1903, served as its secretary from 1907 to 1919. A civil engineer, he was twice elected president of the Haddonfield borough council and from 1895 to 1900 led the Board of Health. George B. Glover presided over the school board from 1903 until his death in 1917. He also served on borough council and for ten years as president of the Haddonfield Republican Club.[34]

Two generations of Hodgson men anchored the board of education. President of the Phoenix Paint and Varnish Company in Philadelphia, William W. Hodgson served consecutive terms before World War I. His son, an attorney and a partner in his father's business, became president of the school board in 1923, his first year in office; W. Gentry Hodgson remained president for a decade. He was a great booster of the public schools. After several rounds of pay raises for the district's teachers in the late 1920s, he called for "a full measure of cooperation between school and home," urging parents to regard money spent on education as an investment.[35]

Such eminent and stable leadership put the board in a formidable position. Of course, the officers of both the HMTC and HPTA came from the same social background as their male counterparts on the board of education (see Table II), although by the 1920s neither the HPTA nor the board were as exclusive as they once had been. Emma Middleton deserved the recognition that came with her election to the school board in 1918, but she hardly was a member of the town's economic and social elite, and she never became its president or vice president. There were some kinship ties between the school board and the Mothers and Teachers Club. Between 1906 and 1908 Glover's wife, Rebecca, was both vice president

and acting president of the HMTC. Attorney Henry S. Scovel, who served on the school board for no less than seventeen years, was married to an active member of the HMTC. Their daughter, Ethel, worked as the paid secretary of the board from 1919 to 1922.[36] Despite such overlap it was not customary for leaders of the HMTC or HPTA to get promoted to the board. When Alice Bechtel ran in 1915, she received exactly one vote, probably her own. As a candidate in the same election Harriet Dawson did no better; she became president of the HPTA in 1920.[37]

Even though they were excluded from the board, the mothers of Haddonfield were not about to be invisible or mute. They made their presence felt in home and school. Never satisfied with the number of families in their association, the leaders of the HPTA experimented with different strategies to recruit and retain more. They awarded prizes to those classes in the district with the largest membership. They sponsored countless lectures and demonstrations on parenting and schooling. In 1919 they divided Haddonfield into twenty sections, assigning each to a resident mother who was responsible for inviting her neighbors with children to join the association. They even tried decentralizing the association, holding separate meetings in three different parts of town. Such efforts were not without effect; HPTA membership more than doubled in eight years, reaching 476 in 1927.[38]

The HPTA wanted to make Haddonfield's teachers, especially the women, feel at home. It sponsored dinners for them and receptions that included the board of education. It made certain that the single women among them who came from out of town found suitable apartments. It rejoiced in 1920 when every teacher became a member but despaired later on when they failed to attend afternoon meetings.[39] But the

relationship between mothers and teachers in the HPTA was far from democratic. Taking charge of hospitality, mothers made the basis for their leadership perfectly clear. They derived their legitimacy from their status in the home. Teachers were entitled to respect in academic matters. When the HPTA decided to endow a scholarship at the New Jersey State Normal School for a graduating senior, this distinction came into play. The faculty would be "allowed to use any means they deem best to determine the most desirable pupil," the officers of the HPTA said. But "no one whose character is not of the best" would ever be considered.[40]

While the mothers of Haddonfield were not prepared to challenge the school board, they were not intimidated by it either. In fact, they often worked with it. The board granted their request for space in a schoolhouse to hold the first meeting of the HMTC, an indulgence that became precedent thereafter. The home and school association learned to initiate contact when it felt confident that the superintendent and board would listen. Not every educational issue fell within the province of the home. After all, it was a mother's job to monitor the growth and behavior of children. "The school has a right to expect that the child be physically fit and happy," the new superintendent Allen S. Martin told the HPTA in 1923. The school board believed that teachers would fail if they acted alone in matters of discipline. "We believe one of the outstanding lessons most needed by our young people is that of absolute obedience to school authority," it said. "There is need for definite cooperation from parents in this regard, for all success of school work hinges upon sustaining the teachers' authority and influence with the child."[41]

Both the HMTC and the HPTA asked the board for help with nutrition and recreation. In 1910 the board permitted the HMTC to use a school yard during the summer as a playground, and at the bidding of the HPTA it hired a playground director ten years later.[42] Food was a topic of special interest to the members of the home and school association. In 1908 the HMTC petitioned the board "to forbid the sale of all food stuffs, such as apples, candies, pretzels, hokey-pokey, etc. without a special license." It soon followed with a request to lengthen the lunch period from thirty minutes to one hour, presumably to allow the children enough time to eat at home. More than a few must have gone elsewhere, however, because in 1921 the HPTA complained about school leaving at the noon hour. Only those with written permission from their parents should be excused, it said, a policy that the board adopted at its next meeting.[43]

The board could have solved the lunch problem by serving hot meals at school. As early as 1920 it designated one of its two new female members, Mrs. Bertha Wilson, to confer with Harriet Dawson, the president of the HPTA, about the feasibility of catering soup at the Elizabeth Haddon School. When Wilson and Dawson decided that this was impractical, the noon hour issue remained unresolved. In 1925 the HPTA appointed a committee to look into it, but Superintendent Martin warned the mothers off, telling the HPTA that "the Board of Education had had this matter under discussion for some time, realizing the need for responsible persons to efficiently serve such luncheons in a period of time that would not necessitate lengthening the noon hour."[44] Even on matters that struck close to home the board wanted the HPTA to know that it would not tolerate interference.

By the early 1920s the mothers of Haddonfield were becoming bolder. The HPTA now pressured both the school and town to stop tobacco use by minors. The high school principal, Helen Woolston, refused to take the blame; "the amount of smoking could be reduced," she told the members of the HPTA, "if the parents would take this matter over and not leave it all to the school."[45] But the mothers of Haddonfield also knew that there still were strict limits on what they were supposed to do. Regarding the public issue that most concerned the town's parents and taxpayers alike in the 1920s, the HPTA kept its profile low.

Like many other suburban school districts Haddonfield faced a building crisis after World War I. Between 1911 and 1921 enrollment surged, increasing by 476 pupils to a total of 1242. The budget climbed right along with them, and in February 1920 the HPTA expressed its support of the superintendent and his board's budget. But the district now was holding classes in several churches as well as outmoded schools. To rectify the situation the board would have to face the voters, asking them for permission to float bonds, buy land, and erect new schools. It had gone down this road before, encountering little or no opposition in 1903 and 1908 when it received permission to build both a new elementary and high school.[46] Haddonfield had changed by 1921, but there seemed to be little or no reason to doubt that the board would prevail again.

In June the school board decided that the time had come to build a new high school, only to discover five months later that the community did not agree. At a special meeting of the district the board's proposal was rejected overwhelmingly. Both the cost and location of the project prompted widespread opposition that even a joint meeting of the board and the electorate could not dispel. Although many civic groups,

including the HPTA, stepped forward to support the board, a second referendum, held the following May, suffered the same fate as the first. Haddonfield was not ready to invest $412,000 in a new high school, as the board proposed, and even when it countered with a much less costly plan to modify an existing facility, the voters disapproved.[47]

The community did not turn a deaf ear to all the school board's pleas. In May 1923 it authorized the board to spend $142,500 to build two new elementary schools, including one for the district's African Americans. These schools did not eliminate overcrowding, however, and the need for a new high school remained acute. "The unsatisfactory housing for the High School is obvious," Martin complained; replacing it would benefit the entire system, satisfying "the requirement of the elementary schools [for] several years because of the release of the classrooms now occupied by the high school." In the fall of 1924 the school board approached the voters again, but they had not yet changed their minds, twice rejecting plans to build a high school two blocks east of the business district. It took another year to bring them around, and it was not until October 1927 that the new facility finally opened.[48]

The building of new schools was not necessarily a gendered issue. Every parent of a young child had a stake in the condition of the town's public schools. Neither organized nor identified with any particular interest or group, the naysayers lacked political definition. Frustrated parents found themselves reduced to condemning their neighbors for lacking civic spirit. No doubt echoing what he heard at home, one student blamed the failed referenda on "the opposition of a comparatively large group of people who are habitually against any

measures for the benefit of the place." Another complained of a chasm between the townspeople and the schools. "We don't want a new High School," he said, "as much as we want the help and interest of the people of the town."[49] But persuading them to authorize new school construction was important to many families. What was the right strategy to get this job done?

The HPTA chose not to confront the school board or voters of Haddonfield. It downplayed the problem of overcrowding and was not outspoken on the need for new schools. Instead, it followed the lead of the board, backing it when called upon to do so. In September 1920 the executive committee of the HPTA asked its members to adopt a resolution informing the board of their support for the purchase of land on which to build a new high school. But nearly twelve months elapsed before the committee followed through, agreeing by unanimous vote to send a letter to the members of the board "expressing our interest . . . and assuring them of our hearty co-operation and support when they deem it advisable to take action in the matter."[50]

The HPTA did not speak for all parents in Haddonfield. Without representation on the HPTA or the board of education the African Americans in town refused to be ignored, making their requests in writing. In December 1921 an independent committee of black residents presented a petition to the board urging it to include "better school facilities for the colored children of our Borough" in its construction plans. Four years later black parents petitioned the board for "a more competent teaching force" at their segregated school.[51] Some white parents even may have felt that the HPTA and the board were too passive in their approach to school politics. Married to an active member of

the HPTA, Henry Pennypacker filled a seat on the board vacated by the resignation of an elected member in June, 1922. When his colleagues made him president five months later, it must have come as a shock to those accustomed to more familiar leadership. Pennypacker believed in the need for new schools. He reached out to the HPTA in January 1923, informing its members about the board's building plans and receiving in return their promise "to do everything in their power to secure the adoption of the entire program." But Pennypacker soon found himself on the outside, looking in; at the next election he lost, becoming the only officer of the board between 1900 and 1930 to serve as a member for less than three years.[52]

It is impossible to know for sure whether or not Pennypacker's stand on the school building issue cost him his seat on the school board. In the months following Pennypacker's defeat Superintendent Martin acted as the board's liaison with the HPTA, calling for cooperation to solve the problem of overcrowding. It was not until October 1925 that another board member appeared before the HPTA to secure its support for the new high school. By then, the board was looking at the possibility of a third straight setback at the polls. But rather than meet with the women himself, board president W. Gentry Hodgson sent his colleague, Bertha Wilson, to remind the mothers to vote. Meanwhile, the husband of the immediate past president of the HPTA quietly obtained the endorsement of one of the most influential organizations in town, the Civic Association, for the new school.[53] In the school politics of Haddonfield the need for restraint cut both ways. Not only should the home be reserved in its interaction with the school and community but the reverse was true as well. School authorities,

volunteers and professionals alike, had to be decorous in relating to the public, especially mothers.

In Philadelphia and its suburbs gender and class intertwined to gird the home and school. Within the limits set by middle class culture men and women could exercise influence, but each was forced to play a different role. Men served on boards of education; women belonged to the PTA. Such restrictions were not absolute. When fathers became officers of home and school associations, as in Abington, such organizations could adopt a more assertive and outspoken stance. Even in the city deference was the watchword for women on PTAs and boards of education. Leaders like Mary Grice were, therefore, not always welcome. Women who spoke for home and school associations quickly learned to bite their tongues. Far from inhibited, they wanted to shape the policies of the school. But confrontation was not the best way to make their presence felt. Cooperation and collaboration gave the home more leverage at school and in the community.

ENDNOTES

1 Emma Middleton, Vertical Clippings File, Haddonfield Public Library, Haddonfield New Jersey; Scrapbook 39-35, vol. 2, obituary, Historical Society of Haddonfield, Haddonfield New Jersey.

2 Middleton, Vertical Clippings File, Haddonfield Public Library; Minutes of the Haddonfield Board of Public Education, March 19, 1918, September 18, 1919, & April 17, 1934 (hereafter cited as MHBE); Minutes of the Haddonfield Mothers' and Teachers' Club, May 17, 1905 & May 4, 1910, Historical Society of Haddonfield, Haddonfield, New Jersey (hereafter cited as HMTC). On careerism among teachers see, for example: David F. Labaree, "Career Ladders and the Early Public High School Teacher: A Study of Inequality and Opportunity," in Donald Warren, ed., American Teachers: Histories of a Profession at Work (New York: Macmillan, 1989), 164-185; James W. Fraser, "Agents of Democracy: Urban Elementary-School Teachers and the Conditions of Teaching," in Warren, ed., American Teachers, 118-126.

3 Nancy F.Cott, The Grounding of Modern Feminism ((New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 85, 141; Anne Firor Scott, Natural Allies: Women's Associations in American History (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991), 2, 24-27, 100, 183; Anne Boylan, "Timid Girls, Venerable Widows and Dignified Matrons: Life Cycle Patterns Among Organized Women in New York and Boston, 1797-1840," American Quarterly 38 (Winter 1986), 779-797; Barbara Sicherman, "Working It Out: Gender, Profession, and Reform in the Career of Alice Hamilton," in Noralee Frankel and Nancy S. Dye, eds., Gender, Class, Race, and Reform in the Progressive Era (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1991), 141.

4 Scott, Natural Allies, 149, 180; William J. Reese, Power and the Promise of School Reform: Grassroots Movements During the Progressive Era (Boston: Routledge & Keegan Paul, 1986), 43-44, 54-55,, 113-115.

5 Lois B. Merk, "Boston's Historic School Crisis," The New England Quarterly 31 (June 1958), 172; Neale McGoldrick & Margaret Crocco, Reclaiming Lost Ground: The Struggle for Woman Suffrage in New Jersey (New Jersey: 1993), 20; Alice Hyneman Rhine, "The Work of Women's Clubs," Forum 12 (December 1891), 527; Scott, Natural Allies, 133, 139; Reese, Power and the Promise of School Reform, 58-60.

6 Merk, "Boston's Historic School Crisis," 188-195.

7 Merk, "Boston's Historic School Crisis," 194-95; Cott, Grounding of Modern Feminism, 87, 108-109; Scott, Natural Allies, 83-85, 100.

8 William L Pieplow, "Cooperation Between Boards of Education and the Public," School and Society 10 (September 13, 1919), 329-330; Alice Fox Pitts, "A Challenge to Parent-Teacher Associations," The Parents' Magazine 4 (November 1929), 15.

9 Scott, Natural Allies, 124-125; Reese, Power and the Promise of School Reform, 181-185. Two members of the Middlesex County Council of Parent-Teacher Associations in New Jersey wrote words and music for the "Marching Song" of their organization. In Philadelphia "For Home and School" celebrated the idea of the school as a social center. Introduced at the annual carnival of the city's Home and School League on April 17, 1909, it was sung by 4000 on this occasion. Middlesex County Council of Parent-Teacher Associations, Special Collections and Archives, Alexander Library, Rutgers University, Acquisition 1436, Box BI 26; Mary Van Meter Grice, Home and School: United in Widening Circles of Inspiration and Service (Philadelphia: Christopher Sower Co., 1909), 131-132. Returning from the convention of the Delaware State PTA, Mrs. Dallas C. Moore copied a similar song into the minute book of her local PTA. To be sung to the tune of Marching Through Georgia, its chorus was:

> Hurrah! Hurrah! We'll sing a glad new song!
> Hurrah! Hurrah. We'll shout it loud and long!
> PTA stands out today for service true and strong
> For home and school and nation.

Entry by Mrs. Dallas C. Moore, no date (circa 1920), Middletown [Delaware] PTA Minute Book, 1915-1934, Papers of the Delaware Department of Public Instruction, Box 2962, Delaware State Archives, Dover, Delaware. Hereafter cited as Minutes of the Middletown PTA.

10 Edward S. Ling, "Home and School Associations," The American School Board Journal 60 (January 1920), 52; Annual Report of the Philadelphia League of Home and School Associations, 1911-1912 (Philadelphia, 1912), 33.

11 Ling, "Home and School Associations," 52-53; Times Chronicle June 26, 1915; February 5, 1916; May 20, 1916; July 8, 1916; January 13, 1917; September 22, 1917; November 7, 1917.

12 Ling, "Home and School Associations," 53.

13 "The League," said Grice in 1912, "is gradually forming itself into the thing it was meant to be, a channel through which the many forms of social activity, as approved by those in authority, shall flow into the larger life of the community, as it touches upon the life of the school." Annual Report of the Home and School League of Philadelphia, 1911-1912, 7 (Philadelphia 1912), 8. Minutes of the Executive Committee of the Public Education and Child Labor Association, November 25, 1907, April 27, 1908, May 25, 1908, September 28, 1908, & January 25, 1909; Minutes of the Board of Directors of the Public Education and Child Labor Association, April 22, 1912, March 24, 1913 & December 28, 1914; and Minutes of the Thirty-first Annual Meeting of the PEA, May 31, 1912, Accession 177B, Box labeled Child Labor in the records of the Citizens Committee on Public Education/Public Education and Child Labor Association, Urban Archives, Samuel Paley Library, Temple University. Jeanette B. Gutman, "The Parent-Teacher Association in the Philadelphia Public Schools," M.Ed. Thesis, Temple University, 1936, 43-44, 47.

14 "Asks for Probe of School Board," The Philadelphia Bulletin January 3, 1919; "Mrs. Grice Arraigns School Management," The Philadelphia

Bulletin January 9, 1919; "Plan Housing Reform," The Philadelphia Bulletin March 6, 1919 & "Deplore Housing Item Cut," The Philadelphia Bulletin June 17, 1919; Bulletin Clippings Collection;

15 Minutes of the Thirtieth Annual Meeting of the PEA, April 24, 1911; Times Chronicle July 8, 1916.

16 "More Money Urged for Teachers," Public Ledger January 13, 1919; A. S. Martin, "Teachers' Salary Increase in Pennsylvania Paramount to the Welfare of the Children of the State," The American School Board Journal 59 (January 1919), 78.

17 "Raise for Teachers Urged by Governor," Public Ledger, February 5, 1915; "Teachers Favor School-Tax Rise," Public Ledger February 11, 1919; "Good Schooling Urged as Bolshevism Cure," Public Ledger February 21, 1919.

18 "Gratz Hits School Critics," The Philadelphia Bulletin December 3, 1919; "Mrs. Grice Resigns Head of Home and School League," The Philadelphia Bulletin March 28, 1919 & "Mrs. Grice Quits League," The Philadelphia Bulletin, March 28, 1919, the Bulletin Clippings Collection, Urban Archives, Samuel Paley Library, Temple University, Philadelphia, Pa. Although the state legislature and the school board collaborated to give Philadelphia's teachers a raise in 1919, the salary issue continued to plague school officials in the city for the next several years. Journal of the Board of Public Education, School District of Philadelphia For the Year 1919 (Philadelphia, 1920), 114; "Teachers' Salary Raise Approved," Public Ledger September 9, 1919; One Hundred and First Annual Report of the Board of Public Education, School District of Philadelphia (Philadelphia, 1919), 10; "The Philadelphia Schools," School and Society 11 (February 28, 1920), 252-253.

19 The Golden Rung. Golden Jubilee History of the New Jersey Congress of Parents and Teachers, 1900-1950 (Trenton: New Jersey Congress of Parents and Teachers, 1950), 17-18.

20 "Mrs. E. C. Grice Indorsed for School Director," Public Ledger, September 9, 1915; Violet M. (Mrs. William W.) Birdsall to Simon Gratz, Philadelphia, April 19, 1918 (1919?) in a file marked correspondence, 1916-1920, Simon Gratz Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

21 Margaret Gibbons Wilson, The American Woman in Transition: The Urban Influence, 1879-1920 (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1979), 98; "Women on Public Boards," Public Ledger January 2, 1915; Minutes of the Middletown PTA, May 4, June 1, & September 28, 1917; "Woman Leader in School Fight," Public Ledger, September 11, 1919.

22 William L. O'Neill, Everyone Was Brave: A History of Feminism in America rev. ed. (Chicago: Quadrangle, 1971), 50-51, 176; Cott, Grounding of Modern Feminism, 29-30; Edith V. Alvord, "Why is a School Board?" The American School Board Journal 60 (June 1920), 33; "Women on School Boards," The American School Board Journal 58 (February 1918), 33.

[23] James Newell Emery, "The School and the Parent-Teacher Association," Child Welfare Magazine 23 (June 1929), 526; Isabel Underwood Blake, "An Invitation to Parents," The American School Board Journal 57 (October 1917), 22; Harold O. Rugg, "Cooperation Between Boards of Education and the Public," National Education Association: Addresses and Proceedings (Washington, D.C., 1919), 433-434.

[24] Minutes of the Board of Directors of the PEA, April 24 & November 17, 1916, March 28 & May 26, 1919, January 31, 1929; "School Board Called Senile," The Philadelphia Bulletin January 11, 1917; "Fling at Old Men on School Boards," The Philadelphia Bulletin May 26, 1917; "Board Objects to Discard at 65," April 19, 1919, Bulletin Clippings Collection; "New Blood for School Board," Public Ledger October 2, 1919; "Young Democracy Will Wage War on Education Board," Public Ledger October 7, 1919. In Philadelphia the Reorganization Act of 1905 severely curtailed the power of the ward or neighborhood school boards which were eliminated altogether in 1931. William H. Issel, "Modernization in Philadelphia School Reform, 1882-1905," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 94 (July 1970), 358-383; Marilyn Gittell & Edward T. Hollander, "The Process of Change: Case Study of Philadelphia," in Marilyn Gittell & Alan G. Hevesi, eds. The Politics of Urban Education (New York: Frederick Praeger, 1969), 217-235.

[25] "Woman is Named on School Board," & "Woman Sees Great Crisis in Schools," The Philadelphia Bulletin, February 21, 1920, Bulletin Clippings Collection; Minutes of the Board of Directors of the PEA, March 22, 1920. The other women considered for the board in 1920 were Marion Reilly, dean of Bryn Mawr College, Mrs. I. H. O'Hara, a reformer associated with the PEA, the Playground Association, and the Home and School League, and Mrs. B. F. Richardson, a prominent club woman. The Home and School League did not place anyone on the board until 1929 when its president, Anna B. Pratt, became the third woman to serve on the board. "Men and Things," The Philadelphia Bulletin May 25, 1929 & "Elect Miss Pratt to School Board," The Philadelphia Bulletin June 7, 1929, Bulletin Clippings Collection.

[26] Gutman, "Parent-Teacher Association," 23-25, 38-39; One Hundred and Tenth Annual Report of the Board of Public Education. School District of Philadelphia (Philadelphia, 1928), 306; "Principals Like Home-School Idea," The Philadelphia Bulletin, May 1, 1929, Bulletin Clippings Collection.

[27] Gutman, "Parent-Teacher Association," 54-55, 65-68, 127, 134-135; "Drastic School Economy Fought," The Philadelphia Bulletin November 23, 1933, Bulletin Clippings Collection.

[28] Margaret Marsh, Suburban Lives (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1990), 103-107.

[29] Marsh, Suburban Lives, 109-111; Minutes of the HMTC April 26, 1905.

[30] Minutes of the Haddonfield Board of Education, April 21, 1904, Haddonfield School District, Haddonfield, New Jersey; Minutes of the HMTC, April 26 & May 17, 1905, January 17, 1906, March 9 & April 12,

1910; "Borough P.T.A. Founded 30 Years," in the Haddonfield PTA Scrapbook, Historical Society of Haddonfield, Haddonfield, New Jersey; Emma G. Gibson, Pioneer Women of Historic Haddonfield (West Collingswood, 1973), 126-128.

31 Gibson, Pioneer Women, 126; Minutes of the HMTC, April 3 & May 2, 1906, March 5 & November 6, 1907, May 13, 1908.

32 Minutes of the HPTC, May 1, 1907.

33 Minutes of the Haddonfield Board of Education, 1901-1931, passim. All subsequent information regarding membership on the Haddonfield school board comes from this source.

34 Obituary of Anna Eastburn Willits, Scrapbook, MS 39-35, Historical Society of Haddonfield; Glover/Banister collection, File Box 91-1104-1190, Folder 1149-1169, Historical Society of Haddonfield. Willits lost when she ran for a second term on the board in 1911. Minutes of the Haddonfield Board of Education, March 21, 1911. "William J. Boning," Biographical Review: Camden and Burlington Counties, N.J. vol. 19 (Boston: Biographical Review Publishing Company., 1897), 115-117.

35 Obituary of William W. Hodgson, Scrapbook, MS 39-35, Historical Society of Haddonfield; Haddon Gazette, April 4, 1929 in the Haddonfield Parent Teacher Association Scrapbook, Historical Society of Haddonfield.

36 Minutes of the HMTC, November 1, 1905, May 1, 1907, May 13, 1908; Minutes of the Haddonfield Board of Education, May 15, 1919; "Henry S. Scovel," Biographical Review of Camden and Burlington Counties, N.J. vol. 19, 472-473.

37 Minutes of the Haddonfield Board of Education, March 16, 1915; Minutes of the Haddonfield Parent-Teacher Association, June 16, 1920, Historical Society of Haddonfield, Haddonfield, New Jersey (hereafter cited as HPTA).

38 Minutes of the Executive Committee of the HPTA, October 19, 1919, November 11, 1919, September 11, 1922, April 8, 1926, May 9 & December 1, 1927. In the 1920s there were presentations on such topics as nutrition, health, adolescent social life, and school punishment. Speakers included Mrs. A. H. Reeve, the president of the NCPT, Josiah Penniman, president of the University of Pennsylvania, and John Logan, New Jersey Commissioner of Education. Minutes of the HPTA, April 19, 1922, November 15, 1922, November 20, 1923, March 18, 1924, April 20, 1926, & February 18, 1928; Camden Courier, October 17, 1929 in HPTA Scrapbook.

39 Minutes of the Executive Committee of the HPTA, November 11, 1919, November 10, 1920, October 11, 1921, September 11, 1922, November 29, 1926.

40 Minutes of the Executive Committee of the HPTA, January 12, May 18, & May 31, 1921.

[41] Minutes of the Haddonfield Board of Education, April 20, 1905, December 21 & September 20, 1906, November 17 & December 15, 1910, February 21, 1918, February 14, 1922; Minutes of the HPTA, May 16, 1923.

[42] Minutes of the Executive Committee of the HPTA, April 13, 1920; Minutes of the Haddonfield Board of Education, April 15, May 20, & June 17, 1920;

[43] Minutes of the HMTC, October 14, 1908, January 6, 1909; Minutes of the Executive Committee of the HPTA, October 11, 1921; Minutes of the Board of Education, October 20, 1921.

[44] Minutes of the Haddonfield Board of Education, October 21 & November 18, 1920; Minutes of the Executive Committee of the HPTA, February 10, 1925; Minutes of the HPTA, February 18, 1925.

[45] Minutes of the HPTA, December 20, 1922; Minutes of the Executive Committee of the HPTA, December 22, 1922, January, nd, 1923.

[46] Minutes of the HPTA, February 16, 1920; Minutes of the Haddonfield Board of Education, August 3, 1903, March 17, 1908, February 14 & March 20, 1922.

[47] Minutes of the Haddonfield Board of Education, June 16, November 22, & December 2, 1921, May 11, 1922.

[48] Minutes of the Haddonfield Board of Education, March 27, September 25, October 30, November 20, & December 16, 1924, October 27 & November 24, 1925; Minutes of the HPTA, September 17, 1924; "To Vote on New School," The Philadelphia Bulletin November 18, 1924 & "Dedicate School at Haddonfield," The Philadelphia Bulletin October 14, 1927, Bulletin Clippings Collection; "Black School Anniversary," October 12, 1944, Scrapbook, MS 39-35, Historical Society of Haddonfield.

[49] Albert Starkey "What is the Paramount Need of Haddonfield," The Shield (1924), 82-83; Joseph Walto, "A Paramount Need of Haddonfield," The Shield (1924), 83-84. Appearing in the high school yearbook, these two essays jointly received the prize for merit from the Haddonfield Civic Association.

[50] Minutes of the Executive Committee of the HPTA, September 8, 1920, September 13, 1921; Minutes of the HPTA, September 15, 1920; Minutes of the Haddonfield Board of Education, September 21 & October 20, 1921. The board responded by thanking the HPTA for its help and inviting the president and two other members to come to a meeting to discuss "the housing condition of the school children." Minutes of the Executive Committee of the HPTA, December 5, 1921.

[51] Minutes of the Haddonfield Board of Education, December 15, 1921 & March 19, 1925.

[52] Minutes of the Haddonfield Board of Education, June 29 & October 26 1922, February 13, 1923; Minutes of the HPTA, January 16, 1923. Mrs. Henry S. Pennypacker chaired the program and child welfare committees of the HPTA in the mid 1920s and served as the organization's vice

president in 1924-25. Minutes of the Executive Committee of the HPTA, July 16, 1923; Minutes of the HPTA, May 21, 1924. Pennypacker's term of eleven months was also the shortest of any board member between 1900 and 1930. However, two other board members also had brief terms at this time; Charles Vaughan served slightly more than a year, beginning in February 1922, and William Standwitz slightly less, an indication of the political turmoil in Haddonfield caused by the school building issue. Minutes of the Haddonfield Board of Education, February 14 & June 12, 1922, February 13, 1923.

[53] Minutes of the HPTA, September 17, 1924, October 21, 1925; Minutes of the Haddonfield Civic Association, October 16, 1925 & November 27, 1925, Historical Society of Haddonfield, Haddonfield, New Jersey. No relation to Henry Pennypacker, James L. Pennypacker lobbied the Civic Association. His wife, Grace, was president of the HPTA in 1924-1925.

School Board Journal

A PERIODICAL OF SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION

Figure 1. Out of Her Element? Women and the Image of the School Board in America. Source: Front Cover, The American School Board Journal 57 (August 1918).

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TABLE I
HADDONFIELD BOARD OF EDUCATION
1900-1930

Continuity on the Board	1901-1915	1916-1930
Mean Length of Service (in years)	5.78	5.00
Median Length of Service (in years)	4.62	4.00
	Number of Board Members	
Longest Terms of Service		
15 years	2	0
14 years	0	0
13 years	2	1
12 years	0	0
11 years	0	1
10 years	0	1
9 years	1	1
Occupations of Board Members		
Attorney	3	3
Business Owner	6	4
Civil Servant	2	2
Dentist/Doctor	1	0
Engineer	0	2
Housewife	1	1
Politician	0	1
Teacher (retired)	0	1
White Collar Worker	9	10
Other	1	0
Unknown	0	5
	23	29

Source: Minutes of the Haddonfield Board of Education, 1900-1930 Haddonfield School District, Haddonfield, New Jersey. Twelth Census of the United States, 1900, Manuscript Schedules, Haddonfield Borough, Camden County, N. J.; Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910, Manuscript Schedules, Haddonfield Borough, Camden County, N. J.; Hoope's Haddonfield Directory Containing Names of Haddonfield and Vicinity (1901); Directory of Haddonfield, Camden County, N.J. including Batesville 1908 (Camden, 1908); Derbyshire's Directory of Haddonfield, 1910-1911 (1911); Directory of Haddonfield for 1914 (Kolb & Lehr: 1914); 1921 Haddonfield Directory including Batesville (1921); Directory of Haddonfield Including Batesville, 1925 (1925); The Haddonfield Directory, 1929 (1929).

TABLE II

Officers of the Haddonfield Parents and Teachers Association: Occupations of Husbands and Members

Haddonfield Mothers and Teachers Club, 1905-1910

Occupations of Husbands		Occupations of Members	
Business owner	3	Housewife	9
Civil Servant	1	Teacher	4
Minister	1		13
White Collar	4		
	9		

Haddonfield Parents and Teachers Association, 1920-1928

Occupations of Husbands		Occupations of Members	
Business owner	3	Business owner	1
Dentist	1	Housewife	13
Politician	1	Teacher	2
White Collar	5		16
Unknown	4		
	14		

Source: Minutes of the Haddonfield Mothers and Teachers Club, 1905-1910; Minutes of the Haddonfield Parents and Teachers Association, 1920-1928, both in the Haddonfield HistoricalSociety, Haddonfield, New Jersey; Twelth Census of the United States, 1900, Manuscript Schedules, Haddonfield Borough, Camden County, N. J.; Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910, Manuscript Schedules, Haddonfield Borough, Camden County, N. J.; Hoope's Haddonfield Directory Containing Names of Haddonfield and Vicinity (1901); Directory of Haddonfield, Camden County, N.J. including Batesville 1908 (Camden, 1908); Derbyshire's Directory of Haddonfield, 1910-1911 (1911); Directory of Haddonfield for 1914 (Kolb & Lehr: 1914); 1921 Haddonfield Directory including Batesville (1921); Directory of Haddonfield Including Batesville, 1925 (1925); The Haddonfield Directory, 1929 (1929).